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POMPEII

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DESCRIPTIVE AND PICTURESQUE

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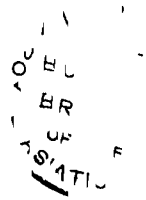
BY

W. BUTLER



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POMPEII.

POMPEII is supposed to have contained from twenty to thirty thousand inhabitants. Of eight gates, only three are excavated—the Ercolana, Marina, and Stabiana; but further than the gates themselves, only the street of tombs before the Porta Ercolana is unburied. The tombs give to it a handsome and somewhat more of a monumental appearance than usual. The gates uncovered are round-arched and plainly built. In their simplicity and strength they look much more reasonable and in better taste than the pseudo-classic of the Porta Capuana at Naples. That is one of the best of Renaissance

gates, and would be an elegant and not ignoble ornament in its proper place; but its deficiencies are made more manifest by the massive earlier round towers at its sides. If the gateway of a town is not wanted for defence, it had better be away, for it only impedes the traffic. The Porta Ercolana, one of the chief gates of Pompeii, has a smaller entrance for walkers on each side; one to the sea, one to the left on entering; the gate of Stabia, only its one arch. Just before the Portas Marina and Stabiana are niches for shrines to the deities to whom the gates were dedicated. A statue of Minerva was found in the Marina shrine. Within the town one sees in some cases in the walls of houses near the crossings of streets similar niches or shrines to the Lares Compitales or Viales. At the crossing of the streets of Stabia and Nola, between insulæ vi. 14 and v. 1, is on the foot-pavement of one corner a very little piazza with its fountain and separate Lares' altar. In modern Italy these are replaced

by shrines to the Virgin. Nor is this resemblance to the discredit of Romanism. The heathens were wrong in making to themselves deities after their own hearts. They were not wrong in thinking that a higher Power was about their ways and about their paths, and that their goings out and their comings in were under His influence. Protestantism banishes too much the symbols of religion from its public places. Just out of the Porta Stabiana is a semicircular stone bench, and there are similar semicircular benches near the Porta Ercolana. In the latter case they were, it is known, built in connection with tombs, but served on that account none the less to rest the living.

The walls of the city near the Porta Ercolana are built of large well-hewn blocks of stone, put together in fine and solid masonry—very similar in their construction to the plain but solidly built so-called Oscan tombs. In several other parts the construction is the same; in others the

wall is loose rubble, held together by the excellent mortar. From the security afforded by the power and order of the Roman Empire, the walls were no longer necessary; and on the sea side they had been taken down at Pompeii, before its destruction by Vesuvius. There were higher towers at little distances apart: the circumference is said to have been about two and a half miles.

The streets are paved with irregularly shaped blocks of stone. The walls of the Volscian towns Segni and Cori are built, in parts, of irregularly shaped hewn stones. The Romans came to build their walls of regular rectangular blocks; but the stones of their pavements always remained of irregular shapes, and apparently of the mere accidental shapes of the stones. These are flat on the broader street surface, and notwithstanding their irregular shape, are made to fit pretty perfectly. In the streets of modern Italy the pavement often consists of similar largish slabs

of tufa, but these slabs are now cut into oblongs. Unlike most of the streets of modern Italy, all in Pompeii have raised footpaths—at times similarly paved, at times differently, according to the taste of the proprietor of the house before which they are. In the street of the sea gate, soon after entering one comes to a foot-pavement made of small stones—just such as sometimes form a court or yard in England—and here they are disposed in patterns. Before the house of the Cinghiale the pavement is plaster, and the plaster is crossed with white pebbles forming diagonally placed squares. Before the house of the Faun, on the pavement is mosaiced, in red, the salutation "Have." The house of the Diadumeni, or of Epidius Rufus, stands back a little, and besides the usual footpath, has a raised approach a little wider, to which you ascend at the ends. But this is the only instance in Pompeii of such a terrace towards the street. The streets are mostly very narrow, rather lanes than streets.

Eight metres is given as the greatest width of a street, including footpaths.

It is difficult to form an idea what was the appearance of a street. Very seldom does anything more remain than the ground-floor and its walls. Only in one case has it been found possible, by replacing the supports with modern wood, to preserve the first storey. In this house it projects into the street, and forms what is called the hanging balcony (*balcon pensile*). But from the appearance it is evident that the neighbouring house had no such balcony. The side-wall or projection of a similar balcony is preserved in a street near; but here again the windows round it show that it was an isolated balcony. Indeed in the narrow streets two such balconies, if they had existed on both sides, would have left little or no space between. The houses had few windows to the streets, and these small and high up, to give light to rooms and passages where necessary, not to look through

and see what was going on outside. The windows of the upper rooms in the *balcon pensile* are rather larger, but still small. It would have been possible for a person standing or sitting in the rooms to see through them, if open; but they were probably filled with untransparent glass, and the street being narrow and a wall opposite, there would in any case be little to see, and to have looked into the street the head must have been put out of the windows. Shops had a wide open entrance to the street, nearly as broad as themselves, and serving as both door and window—just like the shops you still see in the Ghetto and lower parts of Rome, and in the smaller towns of Italy. In Rome they are not always shops, but may be the home of a poor family. You see the bed and furniture through the wide opening, and may see the woman dressing. This is not to the lower order of Italians remarkable. Indeed combing and dressing the hair often goes on in the street itself. Some-

times a house is surrounded, like that of Pansa, with these shops, and on the ground-floor at least has only its vestibules and doors touching the street. In other cases the house walls were nearly entirely in the street; but in all cases the rooms of the houses *looked*, so to speak, into the inner courts, and only the blank walls and a few small windows, in some cases slits, placed high up, were seen in the street. These windows seem to have been protected by iron bars and grating as well as filled with untransparent glass. Notwithstanding, then, that their life was passed greatly in public, their houses were extremely private; and their house life was almost entirely cut off from the public ways. The shops looked into and enlivened the streets, but the houses were almost as much separated from it as an enclosed monastery with its one or two entrances. Not much remains of the wall decoration externally, even on the ground-floor. Turning from the Nola or Thermæ Street towards

the Herculanean gate, between two shops to the left, a little before the fountain, somewhat above a man's height, is a brick projecting cornice: the brickwork below is fine and neat, with very little mortar; above rougher, and the mortar between the bricks is very much thicker. It looks as if the brickwork had shown in the lower part, and the wall had been stuccoed above the cornice. At the back of the edifice of Eumachia, in the little lane called Vicolo d'Eumachia, the stucco on the wall remains. It is flat below, and above divided into recessed divisions, with pediments above, by stripes or plain double pilasters, and within these divisions again, divided in imitation of stones incised at the edges. In Abbondanza Street the divisions go to the ground. In a street a little to the left of Mercury Street a house is painted below all red, and above is coloured in patterns of red, yellow, and white rhomboids a few inches in length. More than usual of the street decoration is still on the

walls in Mercury Street itself. It is a wider street than usual, leading from the Forum to the town wall. In it or in its line are the arch from which the statue of Caligula was taken, and another similar arch, both of which were cased with marble, and otherwise adorned. The houses, too, are in great number, large and good. The house of the great Fountain is built with regularly hewn good-sized stones of tufa, incised for about an inch at the edges. There are pilasters at the door and at the ends. Where there is stone (which is not very often) it seems generally to have been left visible, sometimes in its plain blocks, and usually has pilasters with capitals at the doors. The house of the little Fountain is stuccoed in imitation of the stones of its neighbour of the great Fountain. Passing the cross street on the opposite side, on the long wall of the house of Castor and Pollux the lower part is divided into large red divisions by thin white stripes; above, the stucco imitates stones incised

at the edges, and above these is a cornice. A little lower down, the house of Meleager is stuccoed flatly, and its lower part is divided into large rectangles by thin red stripes: the rectangles seem lined diagonally white and black, but here the colour has much faded and is hardly visible. At the crossing of the streets is one of the usual fountains, a stone trough, with a raised stone at one end from which the water came, and a sculpture (in this case Mercury) on it round the outflow. In the house of the great Fountain are larger windows than usual, giving light to the two floors. In the same house the windows, where they exist, seem to have been in some degree uniform, but no conformity between one house and another. Mercury Street, though better decorated probably, and certainly wider than usual, may have been made to look more cared for and cheerful by its cut stones, its stucco, and its colour; but it cannot have looked either imposing or beautiful. Such beauty

as there was outside the houses in Pompeii, must have been confined to the Forums and the public buildings.

On the street wall there is occasionally a sign —*e.g.*, two men carrying a wine-jar, or a phallus, or the serpents (the symbol of the Lares painted near the crossways), or some other bit of sculpture; but these satisfied some belief, or superstition, or fancy, rather than the claims of beauty. It must have been through the mind chiefly that they pleased the eye. More frequently the walls have some writing, generally red. From the faintness of age, it is difficult to read these, and it would be a tedious work, as well as one of time, and require some previous study of the subject, to make much of these inscriptions. They are said to be sometimes a recommendation to some patron, or supplication for protection; at others, the recommendation of a candidate to office. It seems to me that these last, perhaps naturally, in the presence of a large slave population, are more

decorous than many of our handbills, and hardly come to more than our "Vote for ——." The serpents also answered the purpose of our announcement, "Commit no nuisance." So Persius explains them for us in his lines—

> "Pinge duos angues; pueri, sacer est locus,
> Extra meite."

The atrium, or first court of a Pompeian house, is always a little higher than the street, and generally the ground rises from the atrium to the peristyle or inner court. The drainage runs the reverse way—from the open channels round the peristyle garden into the atrium impluvium or its drain, and thence into the street, often not through the vestibule, but under a room. Sometimes the peristyle drains direct into the other street. The water ran through the street itself into the river. I have only noticed one underground drain in the streets for the outflow of drain-water—though, since such drains were universal from the house-courts into the streets, the

method might have been applied to the streets themselves, if thought necessary. In the street leading from the Forum, in continuation of the Via Marina, called, from the sculpture on its fountain, the Via Abbondanza, by the baths called Stabianæ, as it approaches the street of that name the ground rises, and here a large drain goes underneath the street. At the crossing of the streets it turns down the Via Stabiana, and after continuing under some distance, comes to the surface and has its outflow into the street. For the convenience of pedestrians in the watery state of the streets, great stones the height of the pathways are placed at varying distances, and generally at the crossways, for people to step across on them without getting wet by the water flowing below. In modern Italy the streets often serve also as drains, and incline towards the centre or one side better to serve the purpose. But they have seldom footpaths, and never raised stones to step across upon; so that if one returns

home on a rainy evening, and does not well know the incline of the street, one may find one's self (as I know by experience) walking in the drain part of the road. At these crossing-stones the carts were forced very much into one track between them; and there are often very deep ruts worn in the cart-road at these points, so deep as to be bad for a cart, more than unpleasant for anything like a carriage. This is one among several signs that carriages were little used, at least in the town.

There are in most streets, generally at the crossings of two, fountains such as I have mentioned in Mercury and Abbondanza Streets. They are uniform and as simple as possible, almost the only ornament and variation being the sculpture of a god, or mask, or face round the spout or outflow. Water was conveyed in leaden pipes (Horace)—

"In vicis aqua tendit rompere plumbum"

—to the public baths (several pipes are still

to be seen in the Thermæ Stabianæ), to the fountains and baths of private houses, and where required for business, as in the fullers' troughs. Pieces still remain to show their use in both these last cases. But it does not seem to have been customary to lay on water for merely household use. The fountain was near, and labour was cheap and plentiful, where the supply needed was such that labour could conveniently satisfy it. Even in the present day water is not laid necessarily or usually into the houses; and fountains, moreover, are not always so numerous and so conveniently placed as in old Pompeii. In Torre del Greco, which lies between the sites of Herculaneum and Pompeii, and is said to have 25,000 inhabitants, more scattered than, but about the population of, old Pompeii, there is, so far as I have seen, only one fountain, and I have walked over most of it. It is true that that one runs, and runs strongly, out of fifty-four mouths. I suppose that many

houses have their private wells. Attention was first drawn to the buried Herculaneum through sinking a well for a villa. But still the old Pompeians were much more practical in their *distribution* of their water-supply than their successors are in concentrating it. I should say, in justice to the people of Torre del Greco, that fourteen of their fifty-four jets supply a covered wash-house in the centre of their fountain. It does not appear how the washing was done at Pompeii. I have noticed one shop and one yard with a number of small coppers, or rather their brickwork, still left. These might have washed in our Northern manner; but the coppers look too many for simple washing, and seem to have belonged to some business. Probably the Pompeians washed in the river Sarno, which then flowed beneath the town. Where there is a natural water-supply from the Italian lakes to the brooks of southern Italy, the Italians use it to do their washing in. In Torre del

Greco there is no river supplied by nature; but the seven jets on each side within their great fountain, and constantly running, serve as a substitute.

Near the Porta Ercolana is an inn at which the foot-pavement is broken into a gradual ascent for carriages into its court. There are two similar entrances, Nos. 2 and 8, in Stabiana Street, near its gate, the latter of which is called, probably from some remains found in it, "Hospitium Hermetis." They were both, no doubt, houses or inns at which the country vehicles could rest as well as travellers: their situation and construction at once explain their use. But it is curious that these are the only houses at present uncovered that have a carriage entrance. The largest and richest private houses have only the usual vestibule ascending from the footpath, and one or more similar but smaller *postici* or back entrances.

The public parts of the town, the Forum, the

temples, the courts of justice, with the baths, theatres, and amphitheatre, are the grander—more architectural, more solidly built, more sumptuously adorned. The appearance of the Forum at once carries us back to the time when the individual was less and less considered, and the public life was more—patriotism being the highest *amor*. Christianity has given to man higher hopes, higher aims, has enfranchised and raised the value of the single soul. Proclaiming as a practical dogma, and of *general* application, that the truth alone can make free, and that this spiritual freedom is *the* end of life, without seeking to act directly on the social order, it has knocked the fetters from the slave population, which formed the majority of the ancient world; it has given to them the rights, the liberties, of citizens and human beings; it has established the equality of all before the law. It has given to all religious freedom, freedom of belief and conscience, with its duties, as well as

enfranchisement. This inner is to a Christian the highest life. And even in political and in the material life individual liberty is, or at least was till very lately, held to be, by the true modern, the real spring of progress and social amelioration, the source of greater improvements, greater benefits, than State organisation could effect. The State's duty was, as a general rule, to interfere with the individual only to prevent excesses, and protect the weak from the abuses of a society founded on the principle of personal liberty. Certain matters of general collective interest fell under its direct action. But in his ordinary life and interests the State's business was to secure his rights and liberty to the citizen, not by its direct action to form and govern him. The creed of English Liberalism, when at least the Whigs were Liberals and Macaulay was their prophet, was that the less the State restrained the free action of individuals the better. Crime must be restrained, order and

justice maintained; but for the State to interfere with ordinary life, beyond what was necessary to secure justice to every class, and prevent clearly defined and clearly preventible abuses, was held to be beyond its province—was thought an interference that prevented amelioration and that fettered progress. The strong must not be allowed to oppress the weak, the rich the poor. To every class, to every person within his rights, liberty of action must be secured. Corporations must be watched in their exercise of powers given them, and the interests of the public maintained. Children and the weak might so far be protected that undue advantage was not taken of their weakness; but it was the grown man's duty and privilege to fight his own battle and guide his own course, protected from definite wrongs and abuses, and equally checked from committing them. The "nots" were not to be taken out of the Commandments, and the State was not to attempt to tell men what they should

do. To try and enforce virtue would rather be to corrupt it, and to destroy the basis of liberty on which rested its very existence. Every Englishman must be able to say, "I am a freeman"; and so long as he did no wrong, must not be restrained in his action as citizen, as father, and as man. In these days of German disbelief, Gambettist republicanism, and different kinds of socialism, a different spirit is seeking predominance. The State is to be replaced very much on its ancient foundation. It is to be the higher power, and not only to prevent wrongs, but to guide and check, according to its good pleasure, religious and individual action. Nor do these people see that they are destroying (be their flag what it may) that freedom which is the spring of all modern progress. This freedom still has in France, in Messrs Renan and Jules Simon, its eloquent advocates, and its battle is being fought in action in more than one country by the Pope and Catholicism. But the life of old Rome was

built on a very different basis. Its Forum, its streets, its houses, show this to any one who can read the signs they give. But however we may believe that the principle on which modern civilisation is founded is the higher, nobler, and better, it does not follow that the incorporation of this principle in Christian times has let go no good points that existed before. It does not follow that modern times can learn nothing from ancient, and that we cannot with advantage in some particulars imitate them. Man is a being of limited faculties; his embodiment of the truth in action is imperfect, and in following it he is very likely, while on the whole making progress, to have let drop particular advantages that there was no occasion to have lost.

Pompeii being a small country town, makes the appearance of its Forum and surrounding buildings the more striking evidence of the different place that Roman civilisation gave to the Government and its attributes. We in our

capitals and great cities erect statues to our public men, have grand public buildings, and honour the administration of justice by the palaces in which it is exercised. But our little provincial towns have little or nothing that embodies the majesty of public life. It is not so at Pompeii. Its Forum is a fine market-place. It is surrounded on three sides by a fair-sized Doric portico, with its stone triglyph frieze and cornice, in parts still existing. There is not a great deal of hewn stone in the buildings of Pompeii. Most are brick or rubble and plaster. On the fourth side was the Temple of Jupiter, also of stone, and though not large, for its size a stately building, ascended to by many steps. On each side of it was a triumphal arch, and on the right, a little farther back, was a second, which bore the equestrian statue of Caligula. All these arches now show their bricks, but they were clothed with marble, some of which still remains. There is another base

for an equestrian statue in the middle of the Forum, and several at its opposite end and at the sides. Before many pillars and in front of the macellum are the bases for standing statues. On four of these the inscription remains. They were erected to three citizens—Caius Pansa, father and son, and to Marcus Rufus, one in his lifetime, another after his death. They had been among the chief magistrates of the town. In what small provincial town of Europe now should we find statues, and that in number, erected to its emperors and chief officers? In Pompeii there are such statues, erected not only in the chief Forum and before its buildings, but in the amphitheatre, in the theatres, in the triangular Forum which formed their promenade (to Marcellus, patron), and occasionally, where the room admitted it, in the streets (to Holconius Rufus, duumvir and patron). These statues were not erected to men who by their genius and inventions adorned and benefited humanity, but

to men who filled the public offices, and whose only title to honour it was in some cases—as, *e.g.*, in Caligula's—that they filled them. The statue of Holconius Rufus is now in the Museum of Naples, and is a fine work. Perhaps even more fine, even taken singly, are the statues of the Balbi family, and the bronzes of Mammius Maximus and Marcus Calatorius, coming from Herculaneum. Certainly these last, taken as a whole, form in point of art a very distinguished honour to be paid to the public men of a small town. But perhaps the peculiar distinction in which antiquity held its rulers is shown more by the statue from Herculaneum to the Genius of Augustus, holding in his left hand Jupiter's thunderbolt! This is a State supremacy but feebly imitated by the strongest *Culturkampf* protagonists in Germany, with whatever goodwill they maintain that supremacy by insisting that its officer performs the marriage ceremony, blaming an official who confines himself to the merely neces-

sary legal registration, and finding fault, as if he were guilty of high treason, with the poor ecclesiastic who ventures to say that it is the religious ceremony which more properly conveys God's blessing, and initiates into that union which Christ has sanctified and taken for the symbol of His mystical relation to His Church.

The Forum is almost surrounded by buildings dedicated to public purposes. On one side is the Temple of Apollo, including its court, of considerable size; and across Marina Street, the Basilika or Court of Justice. This is also a considerable building, 67 metres long. The magistrates' raised tribunal was at the end opposite the Forum. This tribunal formed a room underneath, which was probably used for the custody of a prisoner before or during the trial. A portico goes round, or it was divided by columns into a wide nave and two narrow aisles; above the aisles or portico was a gallery from which the public assisted at the proceedings. Its stuccoed walls are broken

by fluted half pillars, and the space between divided in imitation of hewn stones incised at the edges. These imitation stones are coloured red or yellow. Towards the principal entrance from the Forum was a vestibule, from which one ascended by steps to the Basilika, and similarly to it from the Forum. There are two pedestals for statues at the sides of the principal entrance. On the south side of the Forum are three fine rooms with passages, niches, and one with remains of marble flooring, supposed to have formed other courts, or otherwise to have been connected, as council chambers, &c., with the administration of justice. The Basilika being hardly more than a grand court-room, would seem to have required attendant rooms and offices. On the east side of the Forum, near the Abbondanza Street, was the edifice of Eumachia. There was a shrine to Romulus, with his statue near its entrance. In the Museum of Naples there are nice ornamental sculptures and arabesques from the gate-

way of this building. Its court, 37 metres by 19, is surrounded by a portico, of which the pillars were covered with marble; and this portico, again, by a closed covered wide corridor (called crypto-porticus), with large windows towards the portico. In the centre of the back part of this crypto-porticus, in a round niche behind, and following the shape of the principal or Concordia niche of the main building, stood a statue of Eumachia, placed there by the fullers. She built the edifice in her own and her son's name, and at their cost, and dedicated it to Concord, whose statue stood in a shrine in the eastern apse or niche. But what its further purpose, and what the interest of the fullers in it, or whether it was on its account that they erected their statue to Eumachia, seems mere guesswork. It is sometimes called the Exchange. The windows opening from the crypto-portico to the portico, though windows, not doors, since they do not go down to the ground, are as large as the usual shop open-

ings, and would have served to do business through, as over a counter. Since they open into a covered portico, there would have been no need for the customer to enter. He would have been protected in the portico against rain. Next to it is the temple of the Genius of Augustus, erected by the priestess Mamia. I have mentioned already the statue to the Genius of Augustus from Herculaneum. He was the incorporation of the imperial legend of that day, the impersonation of the established order of things, the ideal representative along with the reigning emperor of the Government and empire of Rome. Next to this is a semicircular room, supposed to be the place where the decuriones or town senate held their meetings; and next to it a building with a large court, 37 metres by 27, which had a chapel to Augustus at its end, and which is with probability supposed to have been the Macellum. Before it are bases for statues, and in its front, looking into the Forum, are

shops. In its centre are twelve bases of pillars or statues regularly placed in a circle; to the right twelve shops; at the end three divisions, the centre one being the chapel to Augustus, and the one to the right having counters of masonry, slightly inclined, and with a channel underneath for water or blood to flow off. The inner walls of the court are nicely decorated, being divided below by narrower stripes into large white divisions, in the centre of which are well-painted subjects—one being Penelope and Ulysses. Above them are smaller divisions, and in these the subjects painted are fruits and provisions. From this, from the appearance of shops or stalls, and from the probability of such a building existing in this locality, it is thought that this was a provision market. The lower white divisions in the decoration are separated by gateways and other architectural subjects on red ground, painted in perspective, with figures standing in them, &c. This fictitious architec-

ture seems an attempt to relieve the flatness of the wall surface, and the monotony of similar and regular divisions over a large space. In the large court of the Basilika, devoted to a higher and more serious purpose, light decoration was not attempted, and the wall was relieved by half pillars, and the spaces between divided in imitation of hewn stones with incised edges, regularly placed, but differing in breadth in their different layers. A little out of the Forum, towards Mercury Street, was the small but handsome temple to Fortune.

The Forum Triangulare, looking over the city wall towards Stabia and Sorrentum, was another locality near which public buildings were grouped. It was entered by a handsome portico, and in the street to the left were the curia and temple of Isis, the former being supposed to be a shortened palæstra (in it was found the Doryphorus statue, now at Naples), and the latter being well known from its figuring in the novel of Bulwer, and from

the frescoes from its walls, and relating to its worship, in the Museum of Naples. Beyond them is the small Temple of Æsculapius. The Forum Triangulare is surrounded on two sides by a portico, of which the pillars were stone. Not far from the entrance was the statue of Marcellus. Farther, stood a handsome, more ancient, more imposing, and more solid Doric temple. Before it, towards the town wall, were two small altars, and a third, still smaller, between them; also a square enclosure, which it is supposed might have been for the sacrifice of beasts; and in front of it a little neat round building on pillars, within which was a *puteal* or well. To the right of the Doric temple was a semicircular seat, like those near the gates, with a sun-dial in the centre of its raised back. This seat would be over the wall, and it is supposed over the river Sarno, which then flowed close to the town. Over them it looked on Mount St Angelo, Sorrentum, and Capri, and when the prospect was more free to

the west, must have had a most beautiful view. Its erection in that place certainly shows a turn for the picturesque. On raised ground, surrounded on two sides by the portico, with the fine simple dignified Doric temple to its back on the left, and with a view in front over the beautiful bay and the mountains of Castellamare, Sorrentum, and Capri, it came to me as one of the most pleasing features in old Pompeii. I can fancy many an inhabitant, wearied with "evil tongues, rash judgments, the sneers of selfish men, and greetings where no kindness is," sitting there and "refreshing himself with quietness and beauty."

The temples form in area the greater portion of the public buildings we have yet considered. But there was in ancient Rome no opposition between the spiritual and secular powers. They were rather identical. The same person often held the highest worldly and the highest priestly office. The emperor himself was Pontifex Maximus, and well-established power was held in the

spirit of the Herculaneum statue to the Genius of Augustus, to carry with it irresistible proof that it enjoyed the favour and received the support of heaven. Macchiavelli, whose testimony may be supposed to be on such a point impartial, and whose perspicacity is undoubted, holds that one great secret of Rome's success in better times was its religious spirit, its acting under and with a sense of the support of its deities. In the imperial days, before the destruction of Pompeii, the ruling class had less obedience and less faith. But they felt that to show a decorous respect to religion, and to identify the established order with it, strengthened the government, and gave to it a deeper and stronger basis.

Near to the Forum Triangulare, on the left, is the great uncovered theatre. The ground descends here greatly, and has been cut to descend perpendicularly. From the Forum, or from its portico, you enter on a level with the top of the second class of seats, at more than half the

height of the whole theatre. The spectators entered into a covered corridor going round, and from it passed on the level through doors or *vomitorii* to the steps going down the semicircular seats of the second and first ranks (twenty and three rows respectively), and dividing them into *cunei* or wedges. The rows of steps in the semicircle are four or five in number. They could also enter on a level with the bottom seats on the opposite side from Stabia Street, and ascend instead of descending to their places in the theatre. The third *cavea* or class of seats is raised by a wall above the second. This class ascended from the Forum Triangulare corridor by several staircases to a smaller corridor, and from this passed by its vomitories to the third rank of seats, which are only four rows in number. Besides the three *cavea*, there is at each side, between them and the stage, and over the lower passages, a small platform, a kind of stage-box. These were the most dignified places of

all. Your place depended not on your willingness to pay, but upon your position, your rank, in the Republic or State:—

> "At Novius collega gradu post me sedet uno;
> Namque est ille, pater quod erat meus."[1]
>
> —*Sat.* I. vi. 40.

But you must not suppose that money had not its influence. Your rank in part depended on your fortune:—

> "Sed quadringentis sex septem millia desunt:
> Plebs eris."[2]

And again Horace writes (he was a satirist)—

> "Rem facias, rem,
> Si possis, recte, si non, quocunque modo rem,
> Ut propius spectes lacrimosa poëmata Pupi."[3]
>
> —*Epist.* I. i. 65.

It is said that women were only admitted to the third *cavea*, except certain priestesses, whose

[1] "My colleague Novius sits behind me one step; for he is, what my father was."

[2] "But if of the four hundred thousand (sesterces) six or seven thousand are wanting; you will be a plebeian."

[3] "Make money, money, if you can rightly, but if not, money in any way whatever, that you may see from a nearer place Pupius's tearful poems."

public position entitled them to the highest places of all on the raised platforms. The outside wall at the top, near the Forum Triangulare, has in its thick walls large recesses with semi-circular tops; but it does not appear that these would have been seen except as you entered, after you had left the portico of the Forum. Before the stage, in its wall, looking towards the spectators, are a few seats, said to have been for the musicians. The proscenium is about a yard wide. Behind it you still see the cavity from which the curtain ascended at the end of the play. The stage or scene is narrow, and has three large entrances at the back. It is hollow below. Its back walls have recesses or ledges. They are now bare, but were once covered with marble and adorned with statues. In the walls of the theatre, at the back of the third *cavea*, are attached large square stone rings with square holes in the centre, and corresponding holes below in the floor of the *cavea*. These are said

and seem to be for pillars or poles which supported the tarpaulin or its ancient substitute, that was sometimes stretched over the theatre. Some of those red writings on the walls of Pompeii are the old play-bills, and they announced when the theatre would be covered. The name of the architect can still be read in large well-cut letters (replaced, I suppose) on the wall near the lower passage. It was built at the cost of Holconius Rufus and Holconius Celer, and another statue of the former is known from another inscription to have stood in the middle of the ascending seats. The Romans well understood the art of encouraging public liberality by publicly recording it. All over Pompeii inscriptions are met with recording acts of public beneficence: the erection of a theatre or temple or exchange, or their restoration; the paving a street, building of an altar, or adornment of a wall, or any other public service. Sometimes the rewards were greater, and the

inscription announces the presentation of a burial-plot to the benefactor, or his assumption into the number of the decurions or senate of the colony. There is significance in this world-colony. In all its proceedings Pompeii is the offspring, the miniature, the copy in small of the great mother-city Rome. Some Italians, and some people who have not the excuse of being Italians, talk of Rome as being, from its memories and associations, the natural capital of Italy. Their assertion, without their reasons, would be too vague for refutation. Italy may at one time have been the limit within which the citizens of all towns were as a rule acknowledged also as the citizens of Rome. But this limit was, so to speak, a matter of temporary accident and convenience, not permanent and never exclusive. At another time, for political reasons, the senate forbade the consul to bring an army within the home province of Italy. But this province was bounded by the Rubicon; and Gallia Cisalpina,

and a great part—almost the most important parts—of modern Italy, were not Italy at all to the conquering Roman. The name to him was hardly more than a geographical expression. It was not Italy but Rome that had conquered the world. Nationalities were then nothing, but to be "cives Romanus," a citizen of Rome, was a great deal. The senate of Rome gave laws to the empire; from the city went forth the consuls and proconsuls, prætors and proprætors, to the government of the provinces. Rome, not Italy, was the heart, the nucleus, of the empire. Its colonies were, so to speak, its arms, which it extended to embrace and rule its empire; and they were all in their constitution the exact copy of the parent city, as well as the fortresses by which it bound to itself and held in subjection its provinces. It was the wisdom with which the Roman senate constantly extended the rights of "citizenship" that made its rule so little troubled and so durable.

Other inscriptions give us a little insight into the way in which the Pompeians did their public business. They record that two persons named caused a work to be done, after a vote of the senate, and that they approved the work done, sometimes adding the expense.

The little theatre is close to the great, towards Stabia Street. It was in part entered from the same passage. It was built exactly on the same pattern, except that it had a roof of tiles. Piles of tiles were found near; and it is supposed from this that the roof was in reparation. The seats are more perfect, and the part allowed to the feet of the sitter above is incised. Here an inscription tells the name of the generous duumvir who paved the orchestra with marble.

Did the comedies of Plautus or Terence hold their place on the Pompeian boards? or did the Pompeians relish better works of a more recent day, as the "lacrimosa poëmata Pupi"? Horace speaks in a different tone of Fundanius

as an excellent contemporary comedian (Sat. I. x. 40):—

> "Arguta meretrice potes, Davoque Chremeta
> Eludente senem comis garrire libellos,
> Unus vivorum."

In the same passage he praises Pollio as the tragedian of his time:—

> "Pollio regum
> Facta canit pede ter percusso."

And (Odes, II. i.) he addresses him:—

> "Paullum severæ Musa tragœdiæ
> Desit theatris."

These writers would come within the date assigned to these theatres; but perhaps before the destruction of Pompeii they, too, had gone out of fashion. Their works not having lived, they are, to us at any rate, but empty names. My guides to the understanding of Pompeii do not tell me the contents of those red playbills upon the walls; but from the silence, I suspect that they announce plays that have equally failed to survive to pos-

terity. The taste of the time has a great deal to do with a successful representation on the stage. The plays performed here were written for their day, and have not unnaturally passed away with it.

The amphitheatre is situated at some distance at the south-east corner of the town. It is smaller and simpler in its arrangements than those of Rome, of Capua, and of Puteoli, but quite on the same pattern. There seem to have been no subterranean works beneath the arena; but, to speak accurately, the arena itself and a good deal of the building was excavated, and below the surface of the surrounding ground. The descents to the arena are on a steep incline. There are three little chambers under the first *cavea* that are said to have been for wild beasts. The seats are very perfect compared with those of other amphitheatres; the low stone barrier between the different classes of seats or *cavea* nearly perfect; and the steps ascending through the second and third ranks, and

dividing them into *cunei*, in some cases quite so. So is the covered inner corridor that ran round just behind or under the ground occupied by the first *cavea*, and from which the spectators ascended by frequent staircases to it, and by others to the second, and through it to the third class of seats. These last could also get to their places ascending external steps to the top of the building, where there was an uncovered way all round. One of these staircases was at my visit in process of rebuilding. From the outer gallery they passed to the top of the third *cavea*, and also ascended by steps to a small gallery at the back of it. The school of the gladiators was near the theatres, on their level. In the centre is a court, 47 metres by 36, with its portico. In their gladiators' barracks were found the iron stocks (now at Naples), with the bones of skeletons attached to them, and in another room gladiators' weapons. The Colosseum of Rome has claims to respect which the amphitheatre of a provincial town does not possess.

It is the vastest relic of old Roman (in speaking of such a building can one rightly use the word?) civilisation. It is venerable from the number of ages it has survived the strokes of time and interested successive generations. It is Bede who, speaking of the Anglo-Saxon pilgrims, first gives it the name of Colosseum. Its architecture, if not properly beautiful, is imposing and grand. But the restoration and cleansing that have of late years been applied to it, very much take from its interest as well as picturesqueness as a ruin, and reduce the romance attaching to the sight of it. It is, moreover, in its origin, as well as its uses, a memorial of despotic cruelty. With the achievements of Commodus more perhaps than those of any other emperor is it identified. And it surprises me that any traveller should visit it without bringing away as his predominant feeling a sense of thankfulness that the cruel amusements to which it was devoted have disappeared from modern civilisation. Bulwer, in his tale of

Pompeii, invents a far-fetched and hardly pertinent motive to attach an interest to his gladiatorial contest. If one may apply somewhat differently the thoughts and words of Dante, *mal volere* and *possa* were never more detestably united with *mente* than when they devised and carried out the training and games of gladiators; and certainly Christianity "assai fe bene, quando lasciò l' arte di sì fatti animali."

The Baths are the only other public buildings of Pompeii. There are three excavated: the small baths near the Forum and opposite the house of the Tragic Poet, so far as visible for men only; those in Stabia Street, both for men and for women, and with a palæstra; and a third for men, also with a palæstra, and with still larger rooms, but apparently unfinished. The remains of both the Stabian and Forum baths are, compared with the other ruins, complete, and are very interesting. They do not compare in size or in their original magnificence

with those of Rome; but more remains, and enough, to show us a great deal of their construction and use, as well as ornamentation. To the Stabianæ Thermæ the entrance into the palæstra or court is from Abbondanza Street. There are minor entrances to it and to the baths from the other streets the building touches. The Palæstra has a portico on three sides. Four of the pillars bear the old architrave with stuccoed foliage, the ground coloured red, and lines at its borders. This architrave bore the tiled roof of the portico slanting to the walls. Underneath it the walls of the portico were in the lower part divided by white stripes into red rectangles with yellow borders; above simple coloured pattern in lines, and under roof a cornice. The portico on entrance side seems to have had rooms above, in connection apparently with shops in front. There is a seat against the wall for spectators. On the west side, where was no portico, but the dressing and ablution rooms

of the gymnasts, was a little wall. What little there was near the south is elaborately decorated with stuccoed reliefs and painting in combination. On the north side is a room, thought to have been a refreshment-room; and in the passage behind, several single baths, a urinal, and what appear to be porters' rooms and rooms for storing fuel. There still remains in the Palæstra a Hermes statue or two.

The appearance of the court with its portico was not properly either grand or beautiful; but they were pleasant enough to the eye, and convenient for use. The baths for the women, with entrances from both side streets, are round the north-east corner; those for men occupy the rest of the east side. Both are on the same model, and are nicely constructed and decorated. The first room is for the cold bath and the undressing room; round the walls are ledges, formed by partitions into niches, perhaps a yard each way, for bathers' clothes; above them a

cornice in stuccoed ornament painted. In the corner a large bath-basin. The floor is checkered in white and black mosaic. The roof is arched; there are two apertures in arch, and one window in wall. To the right one turns into the tepidarium, with arched roof and floor of white pebbles. Its walls are hollowed for passage of heat from furnace to warm the room. From this you pass into the calidarium or sweating-room. Its floor is white pebble mosaic, with a black line round near the sides. The walls here too are hollow for heat to pass round. The arched roof is fluted in stucco. The walls are divided into red divisions by yellowish-coloured Corinthian pilasters with white capitals; the two ends within the arch are nicely stuccoed with little ornaments in relief, pillar, garland, large stone roller, &c. At one end is bath basin with hole for passage of warm water, and bronze pipe which once had its tap for admission of cold. At the other end is a fountain from which issued a jet of warm water,

the Pompeian guide says increasing the heat, but one would think also relieving the dryness by its moisture. Beyond you see the remains of the furnace and the skeleton of its arrangements.

The baths for the men are to the right of the palæstra entrance. There is an entrance-room rather than passage, leading to the dressing-room. Its arched roof of stucco is divided into circles, connected by crossed waving lines, forming a convex dodecagon between themselves, and four circles. These dodecagons and circles are tastefully ornamented with little figures and other reliefs. I mention each decorative feature, for the Roman workman loved, however simply, to decorate his work; and it is their decorative shape and little ornaments that often give so much charm to his rooms, his furniture, and his utensils. On left of entrance-room is circular cold bath, with walk or platform round, and four niches, said to be for seats; and smaller one opposite the entrance, which had a jet of water. The

niches and walls are ornamented with stucco and painting. In one niche is depicted a sort of garden or shrubbery. Light was admitted from above. The actual dressing-room has its partitions for clothes like the women's, but with plainer cornice and a seat beneath. Its floor is of marble, and its vaulted roof stuccoed in hexagons and squares and other patterns, with little figures and other ornaments in them. These vaulted roofs call to mind the passage of Horace which tells us that these rooms, besides their original use for bathing, and besides being with the Forum the news-room, the club, of those days, were also along with it the literary school or lecture-room — the place where writers recited their works to make known their name:—

"In medio qui
Scripta foro recitent, sunt multi, quique lavantes;
Suave locus voci resonat conclusus."[1]

The tepidarium and calidarium are less perfect.

[1] "Many recite their writings in the Forum, or bathing; the shut-in space resounds sweetly to the voice."

They had, like the women's, hollow floors as well as walls for passage of heat from the furnace.

The Forum baths are quite on the same model; but the rooms are smaller, and though simply and elegantly adorned, are lower and less cheerful. All the rooms are vaulted. A money-box was found near the entrance. The spoliarium or dressing-room has two seats at the sides, and a stucco cornice round under roof ornamented with griffins, jars, harps, &c. Between cornice and seat are holes in the walls, apparently for the support of chests or niches. The floor is mosaic in white, with broad black line round in front of the seat. At the end of the room you enter into its circular cold bath, with its four niches, platform, &c., like those in the other baths, and round above a neat stucco cornice with children riding and driving. The tepidarium to right has its row of cupboards like the dressing-room of the Thermæ Stabianæ; but here they are divided by little men as Caryatides. The floor is white

mosaic, with black line near the edge; the roof in various divisions, with figures, &c., in relief. In this room was found a large brazier for charcoal fire, and two bronze forms. From it you enter into the calidarium, which has bath at one end, and fountain at the other under semicircular ending of roof. Over the fountain are two apertures, which the Pompeian guide says were closed with wooden frames fitted with glass; the floor and walls were hollow for the circulation of hot air from the furnace. The roof of the room was fluted, and at semicircular end was more elaborately divided into patterns and adorned with reliefs. The floor was white mosaic, with two black lines near the edge. They understood the charm of variety even in little things. The wall is divided by plain Doric pilasters in stucco.

These baths were not only a pleasure, but, enjoyed in moderation, acted beneficially on the skin, and so on the other organs, assisting them in their healthy action and invigorating the

frame. An allusion of Horace points out one use of them, confessing the pleasure indirectly, and at the same time happily estimating its worth (Epist. I. xi. 12):—

> "Nec, qui
> Frigus collegit, furnos et balnea laudat,
> Ut fortunatam plene præstantia vitam." [1]

The Palæstra was one of the institutions of ancient society deserving deeper respect and higher praise. In England we have in our games cricket, football, boating, &c., a not inefficient, in some respects perhaps a better, substitute, if we used with them some of the appliances of the Palæstra. M. Tain, a great admirer of the ancient Greeks, pays us the compliment of saying that a young Englishman in his freshness, healthiness, and bodily vigour is the modern reproduction of the youthful Greek, trained in the exercises, scrapings, and ablutions of the Palæstra.

[1] "Nor does he who has caught cold praise baths and furnaces as giving to the full a happy life."

But it is sad to see how wholly Italian [1]—and all other Continental—society neglects even in youth all healthy bodily exercise and all proper care for the body. The scholars of the priests walk constantly, but that is about all. Occasionally at Rome you see some ecclesiastical students, generally Irish, playing a game like rounders, in the grounds of the Villa Borghese. Germany has renewed a little of the old gymnastic training, minus its ablutions; otherwise there is lamentable neglect in cultivating the *corpus sanum*. No blind professor would ever think, like the late Professor Fawcett, of rowing stroke to an eight. Yet it cannot be denied that the old gymnastic exercises and games, in the temperance they required and encouraged, no less than in their

[1] Their late statesman, Signor Sella, preached to them a proper athleticism, as well as it could be done; and it seems not to have been mere preaching in his case. No advice could be better than his address to the Alpinists, I think, of Naples. He ascended Mont Blanc when fifty-two or fifty-three, unable to take more at the upper part than very diluted coffee, and to the surprise of his guides getting on very well on that.

direct effects, were a great benefit. St Paul compares the Christian life to them, and the contests issuing out of them—the difference being that the Christian's reward is higher and more certain. But both, in being temperate and keeping the body in subjection, make it the better, more ready, and effective servant of the mind and spirit. It is curious that, with St Paul's illustrations[1] confessing the benefits, and indirectly the duty, of bodily training, it should in general be left so much to chance and accident in Christian education.

Pompeii is an excellent commentary on the works of Horace; and he, the most exact of writers, often explains in a touch the use of the things Pompeii has preserved for us, and sets before us accurately and neatly the manners of its inhabitants. After walking through Pompeii, and seeing the porticoes of its forums, its temples, its Basilika, its Palæstra, and its private houses,

[1] 1 Tim. iv. 8; 1 Cor. ix. 25.

one understands in a way one did not before his words :—

> "Quod si me populus Romanus forte rogat, cur
> Non ut *porticibus*, sic judiciis fruar iisdem." [1]

Though he did not follow the usual ways, and was in many respects a modern, hating active games, and despising the ambitions of public life, sometimes with open ridicule, sometimes with the modest plea that its burdens did not become the shoulders of a freedman's son, none the less does he exactly show us what ancient life was. What he disliked and avoided, what he liked and followed, show us the ways of antiquity in their rule and their exception. The busy official must make himself popular, be affable and gracious (*plures salutandi*), must take one and another friend with him into the country, must keep more scullions and horses, must have carriages (*petorrita*) for himself and his belongings. He, without being

[1] "If the Roman people ask me why I don't share their opinions as well as their *porticoes*."

exposed to the charge of sordidness, could go where he pleased on his cropped mule, with its shoulders ulcered by the rider, its loins by his wallet. He walked according to his will; he chattered with the country people, inquiring the price of meal and cabbage; he visited the enticing circus, or lounged at evening in the Forum (just as his successors do in the Piazza Colonna and the Corso); he was present at the sacred rites; then he went home to his vegetable dinner and cake of meal. His table was served by three boys; a stand of white stone bore two cups (*pocula*), and a vessel for mixing (*cyathus*); a cheap rinsing-basin (*echinus*) stood near, and the oil-cruet with the *patera* (for libations), all common Campanian ware. These vessels explain and are explained by some of those innumerable drinking and other utensils in the Museum of Naples. After that he went to rest without anxiety for the morrow. He slept to nine or ten, then he took a ramble, or, after reading or writing

what pleased him, the silent man, he was anointed with oil very different from that the filthy Natta stole from the public lights. When he was tired, and the greater power of the sun told him it was time to go to the baths, he avoided the court and the game of ball. (The union of the baths and the palæstra explains this connection of thought.) Then after a moderate *déjeuner*, enough to enable the empty stomach to last out the day, he rested quietly at home. This he calls a life free from wretched troublesome ambition—such a life as it was better to lead than to have a quæstor for father and uncle. In amusing contrast to this is the description he gives, or lets his slave give (a delicate flattery accompanying the laugh at himself), of his haste to fulfil a sudden invitation of Mæcenas. "Will nobody bring the oil? Does no one hear? You bawl and rage with loud voice; and Milvius and the parasites you had invited must go away with imprecations not to be repeated to your

ears" (Sat. II. vii.) We may suppose him to have asked, confessing himself partial to the cookshop, "When you are like me, perhaps worse, why do you scold at me as if you were better, and wrap up your own vice in decorous words?" The familiarity attributed to the slave professes to be excused by its being the Saturnalia; and thus it gives an incident that might have happened at Pompeii on that the most amusing of ancient festivals. Without being personal or uncourteous, the present Italian servants are on easy terms with their masters. There is no other country where there is so much social equality. Again, Horace's persons had their counterparts within the walls of Pompeii. Catius may stand for its epicure; Nasidienus for the merchant who had made his fortune, and was pleased to entertain and be laughed at by the old patricians of the place; Ofellus for the freedman of natural good sense and shrewdness (*abnormis sapiens*) joined to kindness of heart. His way of living,—vegetables

and a shoulder of bacon ordinarily, on a *festa;* or to entertain a friend, a fowl or a kid for the first course—grapes, nuts, and figs for the second,—represents that probably of the smaller Pompeian shopkeeper. The exchange of courtesies at supper between Sarmentus and Cicirrus gives us a little insight into the way in which the *scurræ* or ancient parasites amused their patrons. Another name for these hangers-on was *umbræ*, the word in itself a social picture. The journey to Brundusium as a whole shows how the rich then travelled. One day's journey is mentioned as having been taken in *rhedæ—i.e.*, four-wheeled carriages. In another passage he speaks of himself as being no State confidant, no business adviser of Mæcenas, but such a friend as he might wish to take with him in his *rheda* on a journey, and talk with on the trifles of the day. The inference from Horace's mention of them, that such carriages were for travelling, not for town use, quite accords with the construction of the streets and houses of

Pompeii. His odes to Virgil, his letter to Tibullus, are a pleasing example of the literary friendships of his day. The history of literature would present a different picture if such were the usual terms in which poets stood to one another. Often a casual allusion illustrates some social institution of the times. For example, the working of slavery is brought briefly but vividly before us in the mention, merely incidental, of the one slave "who, in taking away the dish, licks up the half-eaten fish and lukewarm sauce," and of the other "who buys himself grapes at nightfall with the stolen *strigil*." These passages prove that in being lord (*dominus*) of his servant, the Roman did not get over all domestic difficulties. The atria of Pompeii take a new aspect, and seem filled again with life, when one remembers "the soft whispers in the area at nightfall at the appointed hour," and the "girl's betraying laughter from the inmost corner," and "the stolen kiss," mentioned in the ode to Thaliarchus (Ode I. ix.)

Every letter, every satire almost, explains some old custom, and is full of information that, borne in mind, may fill with living persons and actual incidents the ruined Forums and Baths, the roofless atria and peristyles, of Pompeii.

The frescoes on its walls, or removed from them to the Museum of Naples, are another book that depicts the manners of Pompeii's old inhabitants. A people's art, like the language they speak, may be made to reveal more of their character than they perhaps intended or wished. But without questioning them for any secrets, the Pompeian paintings tell much on the surface of the people's ways. Many of them are direct representations of their life. We see them in two thick files, with the priest at one end in the middle, and another priest and two acolytes at the top of the still existing steps as they worshipped in the Temple of Isis. We see the priests of Jupiter garlanded, and preparing a sacrifice, such as the people of Lystra wished to

offer to St Paul and Barnabas. Another represents the worship of Ceres. Other paintings give their Forum, with its colonnades and equestrian statues, and the market-people in front selling cloth, and tools, and other articles. Another depicts a similar scene in a street, vegetables being among the things sold. Other street scenes show us a cart driven; horses led, others with their riders upon them; a blind beggar led by a dog, and asking alms of a lady. A baker's shop is painted in another, with its keeper, his customer, and a pile of round loaves with their lined tops; exactly like those that Vesuvius has charred and preserved for us. On a pillar in a fuller's court were painted some of the instruments and operations of his trade; and on that pillar, placed in the Museum of Naples, we see them still. On one side is a press for cloth, worked by a double screw; beneath it some cloths hung out to dry, and the working girls talking with Italian vivacity. On another side boys fulling cloth with

their feet, in little vats, of which the remains still exist in more than one fuller's court in Pompeii; the mistress, who wears hair in golden net, necklace, and bracelets, receives a piece of cloth from a girl, and a boy scrubs another cloth hung on a pole. On the third side, painted, a youth carries on his head a large cage on which an owl is perched, and in his right hand a brazier. The cloth was put on the cage, covering it, the brazier underneath; and this made the primitive Pompeian artificially heated drying-room. In a country village I have had my bed dried by a similar contrivance on a smaller scale. The owl was Minerva's sacred bird, and signifies that the fuller's craft is an art protected by that goddess, who sprang from the brain of Jupiter. On another fuller's wall *in situ*, but faded now from exposure, seems to be depicted the examination of some boys and their punishment. We see Cupids working in a boot-shop, in a joiner's shop, fishing, &c. Another picture

represents a boy planing; two sawing, one at each end; and another being carried away dead, a man looking sorrowfully on. The catalogue explains this seriously; but it looks like playing with edged tools, and its consequences, in a series. There is a lady being dressed by a subdued maid, with two other ladies already dressed standing by. In another, in Pompeii, we see a maid holding one of their little round mirrors with a handle, for her mistress to look at herself in it. Others show us ladies sketching and painting. In one a lady is playing, others are listening. There are several of musicians and of revelling. In one are a woman and man on a couch: the man is drinking in a *rhytium* (a horn-shaped vessel); the woman, who wears her hair in a net, but not too much other clothing, stretches out her hand to take a small box from an attendant behind her. A gold hair-net was among the articles found in Pompeii. The *genre* subjects of this class are very nicely painted. There are

in a public-house room, in a rougher and coarser style, pictures which show the revelling of the lower class. In one, a youth is pouring from a measure into a glass to a customer. Above is scratched "da fridum pusillum" (a glass of cold). There are two other scenes of drinking; two with people at table, eating too; a sixth shows a cart with a cask of wine. In these pictures the glasses are long, exactly like those long and fluted among the glass in the Museum. In a house being excavated at my visit was a revel of an intermediate class. The paintings are not good in execution, though the decoration in other respects is very neat and in nice taste, on a black ground. Four persons are reclining on couches: a young woman holds up a *rhytium* above her head, a youth by her drinks out of a saucer-shaped vessel, a middle-aged woman looks with interest on a man (her husband) who is speaking and holds a cup in hand; above is neatly written, "Facitis vobis suaviter, ego ando, est ita, vale"

(Be jolly, I go, this is the way to take, farewell). All these different drinking-vessels are in the Museum. Another picture represents a boy taking off the shoe to one man; another bringing him something to drink; a third boy is embracing another man; a woman and girls are behind, looking pleased and interested. It was said at the Naples Museum that some musical pipes had just been found. I do not know that it was in this house, but one would think it not unlikely. In another picture is a surgeon taking up a vein with a forceps. The patient is said to be Æneas, but the surgeon and his practice must be those of the painter's day. Another scene is a school, and its master (*plagosus orbilius*) is performing the time-honoured operation of flogging a boy, "hoisted" on the back of another, and having his legs held by a third. There are nice flower-girls (Bulwer took many of his ideas from these pictures), and many very pleasing portraits.

Some of the inhabitants were not only good-

looking, but, to judge from their likenesses, cultivated and kind. Very charming are Proculeius and his wife, not unworthy to be placed beside Niebuhr's pair from the reliefs in the Vatican. He is said, on the authority of an inscription, to have been a popular baker, and to have been elected chief magistrate. He looks a sensible and good man, and his wife, with the stylus to her lips, more charming still. Below them was found a small picture of Cupid and Psyche kissing; but it is not worthy of the features of the portraits, and does not illustrate the virtues of Pompeii. No thoughtful, cultivated lady would, happily, nowadays let such a painting stand below her own and her husband's portraits, to symbolise their affection. In these paintings, too, we see their faith: Apollo, the impersonation of the sun and its beneficent workings, with halo round his head, with cornucopia or sphere in left hand, and with sceptre in right; Diana, the representative of the moon, and goddess of chastity and

the chase, with her sceptre and paler halo; Venus with her Cupids more frequently still; Jupiter, the supreme governor, with his thunderbolts, of more power and knowledge, but with all the passions and vices of a man; and nearly all their other deities, with much of their mythology. There is a pleasing little picture of the thrones of Venus and of Mars. His is known by his armour near; hers by a dove, standing on a cushion which a genius is about to festoon with a garland. We see their heroes and representative men, or rather those of Greece, for the Romans borrowed their art from Greece, and many of the artists who executed their paintings seem to have been Greek:—

> "Grecia capta ferum victorem cepit, et artes
> Intulit agresti Latio."[1]

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[1] "Captive Greece took the conqueror captive, and brought the arts into rustic Latium." Again—

> "Graiis ingenium, Graiis dedit ore rotundo
> Musa loqui."

It is true this is written primarily of literary achievements.

There is Hercules, the type of man's strength and of his weaknesses, Theseus, Perseus, &c. Among them is a very pleasing one of Theseus and the dead Minotaur; round him the young Athenians, one kissing his hand, another embracing his feet, &c. Their literary illustrations are also Greek: Medea murdering her children, Orestes under the curse, and the story of the 'Iliad.' Occasionally there is Æneas's escape from Troy, the mythical origin of Rome; and once, at least, this event is caricatured, and turned into ridicule. Besides their drinking-vessels and their ornaments and dresses, we see their deeds with their seals, their pens, their ink-stands, &c.; their birds, peacocks, parrots, quails,

But "ut pictura, poesis," is a saying of many applications, and may be taken inversely. Some lines in the letter to Augustus seem to show that the Romans had learnt their lesson from their Greek masters, and had in Horace's days good native artists (II. i. 32, 33)—

> "Venimus ad summum fortunæ, *pingimus* atque
> Psallimus et luctamur Achivis doctius unctis."

"We have come to the height of fortune. We paint, and sing, and wrestle more skilfully than the oiled Greeks."

fowls, and innumerable others; their animals, dogs, cats, boars, monkeys, leopards, lions, deer, &c.; their fish, baskets, and dishes of their fruit, with their coins, silver and gold. Their birds and beasts are often represented whimsically and fancifully; sometimes with a moral in the spirit of the fables of Æsop. Finally, we see in these decorations the things they loved to look at—what pleased their eyes, and through their eyes touched their hearts. We see the evidence of their taste, in some degree the measure of their art, and not less accurately the measure of their character and morals. But in these aspects I will touch again on these paintings.

Thirdly, the ways and habits of the present Italians enable us in some degree to repeople Pompeii with their predecessors, and conceive how they lived and acted. In innumerable points we find resemblances, and these make us feel that we may carry the likeness further. The same climate, the same soil, the same surroundings,

naturally cause in many respects the same ways. But there are points of resemblance which these do not account for, and it is natural to think that these come from descent. Bulwer tells us that he composed his novel with the feeling that the conduct of their successors was a key to that of the people of the last days of Pompeii. I have already noticed the likeness in some points, and it will be constantly seen in others as I go along with my account of Pompeii. The usual arrangement of the closet in Pompeii is to place it in the kitchen. I have only observed one exception, in the house of the little Fountain, where it is under the stairs. When I left Pompeii, I found the same arrangement in the house at Corpo di Cava in which I slept. It is said to be very usual in the south of Italy; and yet the general structure of the houses now is wholly different from the ancient. *That* has been revolutionised by the invention of transparent glass, the change in the position of woman, and the substitution of free

for slave labour. Yet the shops, where they are genuinely Italian, remain what they were. The little barber's shop at Pompeii is smaller, but exactly after the fashion of those of the present day at Torre del Greco. The coral fishermen still draw their boats at the end and beginning of the season up and down the beach; the former process with the aid of a primitive windlass, turned by two mules—the latter manually.

The ploughshare found in Pompeii is said to resemble that still used; the large shears those used in silk-factories; and lamps similar to the ancient ones are not yet wholly superseded by petroleum. Braziers like the Pompeian still warm the *sale* of the Vatican. These are only a few among many resemblances between the utensils of Pompeii and those now used in Italy. Again, you see clean and cultured ecclesiastics riding their mule, like Horace nineteen centuries ago. Indeed these and donkeys—creatures very superior to our Neddy—do much of the local

traffic of Italy. Middleton and Blunt have pointed out how many popular religious practices of antiquity are reproduced in the present Italian Church, notwithstanding the entire difference in its faith and spirit. The women still carry their cloths and buckets to the fountain, and carry them back on their heads; the men still constantly play at *mora*, the old *micare digitis*. These and innumerable other points of resemblance make you feel that the Italians are in very much descendants of the Latins, and that, in observing them, you see the manners, the naturalness, the quickness, the vivacity, and the culture of their predecessors. Often, in your intercourse with the Italians, you are struck by a natural courtesy of manner, which Sismondi truly says descends so low in the social scale in no other country in Europe; and you irresistibly attribute this to their longer civilisation. Mr Ruskin, in discussing the differences between Italian and Teutonic art, writes that classicism in art

sits gracefully on Raphael—that he wears it as a dress to which he was accustomed, and which was natural to him; whereas Rubens, or any other Northern, walks awkwardly in it—that, attempting to be classic, they are like buxom lasses, who have put on for the occasion the dresses of their mistresses. This seems another testimony, from an altogether different quarter, to the nearness of the modern Italians to their ancient predecessors.

A Pompeian house is quite different to anything modern in its kind. You enter through the street door into a vestibule, or passage, the length of the shops or rooms at its sides. Sometimes the shops at the side communicate with the house, the shopkeeper and householder being apparently one and the same person. Sometimes there are not shops at the sides, but rooms entered from the atrium or court, into which you pass through the vestibule. Round the court ran a covered portico. In its centre was the open

impluvium, a lined basin for the receptacle of rain from portico roof, and such part of the house as drained the same way. It had an iron grating over it in the roof as protection against thieves. The large safe of the owner stood at one side of this atrium under the portico. At the sides of the atrium are rooms with doors into it. These doors gave them much of, sometimes all, their light. Little windows, sometimes merely slits, placed high up, too high to look out of from the ground, are, however, not unfrequent. In one slit only, in the house of the Faun, have I seen part of the untransparent glass that filled it still in it. In several the old rusty iron grating that protected them to the street is still *in situ*. Opposite the entrance was the *tablinum*, or reception-room, open almost the whole of its ends, and said to have been formerly closed with curtains. The two *alæ*, similarly open rooms, are at its sides (sometimes only an *ala*), or maybe the last rooms at the sides of the atrium.

This was the public part of the house. A passage at one side of the *tablinum* led into the second, usually larger court, surrounded with its pillars and portico, and hence called the peristyle. Its centre square was a garden (Hor. Epist. I. x. 22)—

"Nempe inter varias nutritur silva columnas."[1]

Sometimes in it there is a fountain, with statuary round it; sometimes the fountain was a mosaic niche of neat and very pretty stone and shell work in the farther wall. In rare cases this fountain is in covered room at the back of, but open to, the peristyle. This was the more private part. Rooms round the portico entered into it; and the *triclinium*, or dining-room with wider opening, is one of the largest. This opening explains the incident of the fall of the curtains in the supper of Nasidienus. The kitchen is usually small, and near the *triclinium*. Sometimes there is a niche

[1] "In fact the wood is nursed among the varied columns.

for the Lares' altar in it, or their symbol the two serpents is painted on its wall. This, near the hearth, would seem its prōper place. But it is very variously placed. In the house of the tragic poet, it is at one side of the peristyle garden. In the house of the Diadumeni it is in open room or large recess to the right of atrium, the roof of which recess is supported towards the portico by two Corinthian pillars at ends, and two Ionic between them. This altar, dedicated "to the genius of the master and the Lares by the Diadumeni," gives the name to the house. In No. 22 in the same street the altar is in atrium itself, to the right of entrance. In all these three cases it is a separate, temple-like altar, stuccoed with neat ornaments in relief and painting. More rarely it was lined with marble, ornamented with little reliefs. In all houses of any size there was a back or side entrance, sometimes more than one of these *postici*. Thus Horace concludes his quotation to Torquatus:—

"Rebus omissis
Atria servantem postico falle clientem."[1]

In large houses there is sometimes a second peristyle, or portico, with *xystus* or garden beyond it. This is, so to speak, the normal arrangement. But there are endless variations upon it. Almost the only thing common to every house is that you enter into a court with portico round it, or part of it, and that the rooms round communicate with this portico. Sometimes the atrium and peristyle are halved; at others the peristyle is reduced to a portico on one side only, or disappears altogether; or there may be two atria, each with its separate entrance. The house, too, and the relative position of atrium and peristyle, take all manner of shapes and directions to suit the ground. In the house of the Anchor you descend near the *tablinum* a storey to the level of the back street; and to the

[1] "Leaving business, escape by the back door, the client waiting in the atrium."

right is a portico with niches for statues round it at the sides, larger niches with pediments at the end, and a largish garden in centre. This house in this lower part had three floors, all had two. The storey is said to have been devoted chiefly to the slaves.

The house of the tragic poet, in which Bulwer puts his hero Glaucus, is small; but it is famous for the mosaics and frescoes taken from it, and is remarkably neat in all its decorations. For its size it may pass as a model house. The shops on both sides communicate with the vestibule. From it the celebrated mosaic of the dog, with the words "Cave canem," was taken. Round that it was mosaiced with the usual white pebbles, interspersed regularly with an occasional rather larger black pebble. The atrium floor is the same, and a very neat and simple pattern it makes.[1] On left side of atrium are three small

[1] This pattern occurs in the floor at the entrance of the so-called house of Nero on the Palatine.

rooms; on right a passage (perhaps for stairs to the upper storey), a room, and an *ala*. In the centre is the usual *impluvium* with a *puteal*. Opposite the entrance is the *tablinum*. In its centre was found the mosaic of the tragedian drilling his players, which gives the house its name. On its right is passage to the peristyle. Its portico has pillars with simple Doric capitals. These pillars are flat, and painted red below, fluted and white above (both these are not unusual features in Pompeii), and a darker red line goes round under the capital. The peristyle only goes round three sides, the ground being too small, and the farther side cut off as it were by the boundary wall. On this wall, at the end of the right side, are the remains of the slanting cornice that went under the tiled roof that covered the portico. The architrave that supported this roof towards the garden still remains, and has similar neat cornice on its upper part. The wall of the portico is divided into red rect-

angles by yellow, much narrower stripes. On the right of the peristyle passage is a room with door opening into its portico. On right side of portico is a narrow kitchen, and fine *triclinium.* On its left side are two bedrooms, and the passage to *porticus* or back door. In their line, and before them, is similar room entered by door on left side of *tablinum.* All these three bedrooms have small window, about 2½ feet, placed high up, and looking into the street. There is a small circular window in *triclinium,* looking over room, or into the court of the fuller's house, famous for its pillar. Two of the three bedrooms, from the slight stucco arch or curve remaining on two sides, had a slightly curved roof, though it is not an arch proper, the storey floor being supported on beams, and the curve below it simply ornamental. These rooms are about 12 feet high. One bedroom floor is plastered, and divided by white pebbles into small squares, and in each square are set regularly four sets of four pebbles.

I mention this to show that they did not despise the slightest ornamentation. All the smaller rooms are decorated differently, but all in a similar manner. On the lower part are divisions with a little subject in centre; these divisions take up most of the height of the wall. Above them, not in perspective but in lines, is represented a kind of balustrade with towers, with a bird on balustrade, or other similar turn given to the design. The prevailing colours of the grounds of the divisions are red and yellow, but occasionally blue; and sometimes there are black divisions, or a very blackish blue. They are usually divided by white stripes. But this gives very little idea of the effect; for not only are the colours modified by the different coloured squares in juxtaposition, and by the dividing stripes, and by the space above with its patterns of lines and other designs, but also the quadrangles themselves are not merely one colour. For instance, the yellow may have neat little

red pattern or border near its sides; the red a similar border in white; the white division or stripes may have a green centre, say entwined with yellow; and there may be a green wreath in centre of yellow division, framing some figure in it. The whole design is really a work of fancy, and there is no excessive predominance of red or yellow in these room decorations. On a court wall the red divisions would sometimes, to our Northern notions, look glaring, and I think in our climate, untoned by the more powerful Southern light, would really be so. Again, the yellow is usually a nice pale tint, and there are very different reds. In this house there is a red used in *triclinium* to enliven the grounds, but it is a much darker red than that of the bedrooms. The *triclinium* floor (a very lofty room) is black and white mosaic, ground white, two black lines as border near the sides, and in centre a square of two black lines; within the square, circle in centre, and four equal semi-

circles at sides touching central circle. In two of these side semicircles is a fish, in the other two a duck; other figures and ornaments fill up the pattern, all in black. In centre of its three walls are three very nicely painted subjects, one of them being Theseus's desertion of Ariadne. From the atrium walls were taken to Naples some very excellent frescoes from the 'Iliad'—Briseis leaving Achilles, Chryseis being sent back to her father, &c. The house has always been admired for the excellence of these paintings, and the good tone shown in their subjects, and in the general neatness and taste that pervades its decoration. A nice Lares' altar with pediment, and ornamented with reliefs, &c., in stucco, stands against the boundary wall on the left side of the peristyle garden. That garden is quite small, measuring about five and a half steps by five.

The house of the Faun is much grander, probably the grandest uncovered in Pompeii. It is

hardly representative, for it differs in its style of decoration from the others. It has few or no paintings, and its walls are stuccoed in imitation of slabs of incised marble. Its courts are of great size, its pillars lofty, and it has handsome cornices in stucco. Many very good mosaics — among the best ancient mosaics known — and some good statues, were found in it. But notwithstanding this, grandeur rather than good taste seems to be its general characteristic. There is nothing noble in the imitation of marble. The one mosaic left, some doves (a small mosaic for centre), is surrounded by marble patchwork, to me not pleasant or in good taste. Its principal vestibule floor is a mosaic, or rather pattern of marble triangles. Very elaborate subject-mosaics seem to me, too, hardly in place on a floor to be trod on. The excellence of these mosaics is, I think, an uncertain and insufficient ground for believing that they belong to a materially more ancient date than the general mass of Pompeian

art. Older somewhat they may not improbably have been, mosaic being in its nature more durable than fresco. We have no great number of ancient mosaics to compare them with; but I see in them no marked superiority to the parrot from Herculaneum, or the comic actors of Dioscorides, the Samian. Excellent as are the battle of Alexander with Darius, the Genius of Bacchus, the animals, the fish, and all about them, there seems to me nothing in these subjects and in their treatment that need be held superior to the best art of the days of Augustus. The one thing in Pompeii that it seems to me might belong to an older and nobler period of art is the statue of Jupiter. There is a spirit in it, something of nobleness and dignity, which there is not in Pompeian art in general; yet it is not so pre-eminent that we must necessarily assign to it an older date. The house of the Faun would seem to have belonged to some one having associations or connections with Egypt. One mosaic shows

the Nile, with lotus flowers, the ibis, hippopotamus, and a crocodile. There is also a mongoose fighting with a cobra. These mosaics are admirable in vigour, but they are not the least like paintings. They seem to me not to try to rival painting, designedly to give less fully the distances, surroundings, and accompaniments of the scene, and by this self-denial to be enabled to give what they do represent with the greater effect and vigour. They seem to me, too, to have Mr Ruskin's merit of having their pebbles infinitely varied in their shades.

Another fine and large house is that of Meleager. The peristyle is the finest discovered in Pompeii. There are four rooms opening into it (two of them fine rooms) that have kept their mosaic floors. One of them, called the *triclinium*, has a colonnade at the two sides, making a kind of aisles; the other grand room, which the little Pompeian guide suggests may have been a ball-room, has very nice wall decorations, chiefly on

black ground. One of the centre subjects is the Judgment of Paris, well executed, and preserving the different character of the three goddesses, though not realising their highest representation.

The house of Pansa is another large house, taking up, like that of the Faun, an entire *insula*, or the space between four streets, to itself, or, strictly speaking, to itself and the shops facing the street round it. There is a great difference between the two houses in this respect. That of Pansa has the wide opening rooms or shops looking into the street all round: the house of the Faun, only in front in line of its two vestibules; and there one is tempted to think that there were waiting-rooms or outhouses of some kind, so out of character do such little shops appear with so great a house. The house of Pansa, built with its surroundings on much more commercial principles, has three shops in different parts of its square communicating with it, one of these three being a bakery with the usual mills and oven. This bakery seems to

have been really a retail business. In the large house of the Labyrinth there is a bakery attached, cut off by a wall from the rest. In the passage to it near are some very nice little bath-rooms, and there is no trace of public shop in connection with it. In the house of Siricus, next to the Thermæ Stabianæ, the salutation written on the vestibule floor is "Salve lucrum." And opposite to the entrance, over the painting of the serpents, was written, "Otiosis locus hic non est; discede, morator."[1] My German guide-book assigns to him a bakery next door; but there is no communication that I could see with it, or with any shop whatever. Yet a master of such principles must have had some active and profitable business going on; and from the position of the inscriptions, you would think in the house itself. A feeling against trade as trade, when there was nothing morally degrading in its actual exercise, did not in all likelihood exist among the Romans. In an

[1] "This is no place for the idle; depart, dawdler."

amusing passage of the Epistle to the Pisos, Horace contrasts with the Greek spirit, "greedy only of praise," the Roman's arithmetical education, leading to more practical views, and the *cura peculi*. And in his letter to Augustus, he represents it to have been the custom of the patricians of old Rome not only to give legal advice to their clients, but to lend money on good security—

"Cautos nominibus rectis expendere nummos;"

and to advise young men how to increase their property (Epist. II. i. 106)—

"Minori dicere, per quæ
Crescere res posset."

The Roman emperors themselves had a larger and more expensive household; but, properly speaking, no court with its officers and distinctions. They were the first citizens. Up to Severus the forms of the Republic were retained. The government went nominally through the senate. Monopolising a constant imperatorship, besides other offices, as Pontifex Maximus, the

emperor could rule the senate, and if need be pass by it. But ordinarily its edicts clothed his despotism. It is likely that the republican forms prevailed greatly in all the details of civil life. But the possession of a vast number of slaves, and a system of clientship or dependency, so modified all social arrangements, that it is misleading to repeople Pompeii according to the business ways of our own days. Certain elementary trades, the public-house, and the retail market, may not have differed very much—though this last, probably, as to corn and the articles of main consumption, would ultimately be carried on much to the profit of the rich, who possessed the land (*latifundia*), and cultivated it through slaves and dependants. A fuller in Pompeii would have a very different authority over the workmen who were slaves, to that of his modern representative. Again, an intelligent slave was often trained to a trade or profession, and so became more profitable to his master, as well as, from being more profit-

able, better cared for himself. Witness the inscription in what is supposed to have been the imperial pedagogium at Rome, addressed to an ass rudely scratched and working a mill, "Labora, aselle, quomodo ego laboravi, et proderit tibi."[1] Horace gives an amusing account, in his seventh epistle, of Sabinus, whom Philippus succeeded in making a dependant, and turning into a country farmer: how he lost his sheep by theft, his goats by disease; how the harvest disappointed his hopes, and his ox was strangled in the plough; and how, broken down by these losses, he took horse in the middle of the night, and going to his patron's house, begged him to restore him to his former life. Such, but more successful, dependants, as well as intelligent instructed slaves, may well have been trusted to carry on a business, the chief profits of which went to the master or patron. A large slave household could not, if the owner had wished, except by the most wealthy, be kept

[1] "Work, Neddy, as I have worked, and it will profit you."

simply to attend to the wants of the family. Many, like Agrippa, like Horace himself in a smaller way, drew their wealth or means of maintenance from Sicilian estates or a Sabine hamlet cultivated by slaves. But others must have employed slaves and patronised clients in civil business and the trades of towns.

But to return to the houses of Pompeii and their decorations. In the house of the Labyrinth, on the floor of one room is, in the centre, a small mosaic of Theseus killing the Minotaur (from this is the name of the house), and round it a pattern in white and black alternate lines, not very pleasing. Another room has a white centre, with pattern as border in straight lines, white and black, with a little red and green; a third room has a checkered pattern in black and white. Sometimes there is marble in the centre of the mosaic floor, more often a geometrical pattern, but generally it has merely a border; and if a pattern runs all through, it is extremely simple.

A house in Marina Street has a floor of which the mosaic is dotted with irregular bits of different marbles. This eccentric floor seems to show that marble in itself was highly esteemed, and thought an ornament. The colour of the mosaic patterns is generally white and black—neat and simple, and fitting their position; sometimes a little green and red. Some more elaborate patterns, filling up the entire space, now floor some of the rooms of the Museum of Naples. One of these is a pretty mosaic of marine plants, &c., from the villa of Diomede, chiefly black and white, but some red and a little green. The mosaic in the vestibule was not an indispensable requisite, but it is found in many cases. It was by no means always the dog with his "cave canem." In the house of the banker L. Cecilius Jucundus, it is perhaps not unsuitably a wolf. In this atrium was a Hermes statue of Jucundus in bronze, erected by the "Freedman Felix to the Genius of our Lucius." In the *tablinum*, the

centre subjects are nice portraits (busts) in pairs. A little of the marble covering, with simple reliefs, is left on the Lares' altar. Other vestibule mosaics are a boar, a bear, dolphins with trident and rudder bordered by fortification, an anchor, &c. The house of the Bear is small, but neatly decorated with nice mosaics, paintings, and fountain.

The fountains are another nice feature of the Pompeian house. The house of Marcus Lucretius has both the fountain in niche and the basin in garden, with small statues round it still *in situ*—a Faun covering his eyes from the sun, another (Hermes) with goat in his arm, a Cupid on dolphin, a dog, two rabbits, two birds, a bull, a stag, and a duck, and a small Satyr taking a thorn from the foot of the god Pan. The large house of the Citharista had also a group of statues round its basin. These (in bronze) are now in the Museum of Naples—a wild boar attacked by two dogs, a serpent, a lion, and a stag. It is a great addition to the pleasure of a visit to Pom-

peii, to know enough of the Museum of Naples to be able to put back mentally into their place some of the treasures of art taken from it. The mosaic and shellwork fountain niches at the back of the peristyle, sometimes so placed in it as to face the vestibule, are often very elegant, and a very charming ornament. The houses of the great and little Fountains receive their names from niches of this kind. These fountains once had also their little statues spitting water. The Pompeians carried this feature of mosaic ornamentation further. In a garden just outside the town, in the street of the Tombs, were found four mosaic columns, now in the Museum of Naples, which supported a *sacrarium.* In the same garden was found the most beautiful vase of blue glass, with the Fauns' heads, the vines, the genii, &c., in white enamel, which is also in, and is one of the gems of, the Naples Museum. The comic mosaics of Dioscorides, and some groups of dancers and centaurs, which are particularly

natural and spirited, were found on the opposite side of the street, in what are supposed, from an inscription, to have been the fresh-water and sea baths of Marcus Frugius. It is impossible to describe in words the pleasantness of these pretty mosaics; and when the fountains were in play, and they were seen along with the foliage and flowers of the garden, and the pillars and decorated wall of the peristyle, they must have formed a delightful addition to a town abode. In the garden of the house of Ariadne is a little feature which it is touching to see after so many centuries—namely, the old brick tiles (in straight lines and semicircles) which divided the beds.

I have mentioned the statue "to the Genius" of the master in the house of L. Jucundus. This, too, is not an unfrequent ornament. A master had great power then, and it was advisable to propitiate his "genius." In the large house of the Diadumeni, it is the little pedimented Lares' altar that is dedicated by the two Diadumeni "to

the genius of our master and the Lares." The columned hall, in which this altar stands, preserves some of the lower cornice: two cornices are a very frequent feature in the Pompeian decoration, one about the height of the door, the other at the top of the room or hall. In the house of Cornelius Rufus, opposite the Stabian baths, the base of the statue bears the simple inscription, "C. Cornelio Rufo." It is of grey marble, the bust fitted into it of white. In the house of Orpheus, near the crossing of the two great streets of Stabia and Nola, is in the atrium the statue set this time by the "cashier Anteros to our Primus." These statues denoted office and rank. No doubt, of old, more such (*imagines*) adorned the atria, and had their effect on the minds of the people:—

> "Qui stultus honores
> Sæpe dat indignis, et famæ servit ineptus,
> Qui stupet in titulis et imaginibus." [1]

[1] "Which often gives offices to the unworthy, and foolishly follows fame—which is dazzled at titles and statues."

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It would be interesting to know, if it could be ascertained, how the shops of Pompeii were divided, and how they compare in this respect with those of a modern town. But most of them do not show on their face their purpose. Possibly in very many the relics found in them may show what trade they were; but to such information, if it exists, the ordinary visitor has no access. There are many wine-shops, and shops for the sale of drink and victuals. People were hungry and thirsty then as now. There are many bakeries with their small stone mills. In others there are oil-mills. There are several fullers' yards, these being, as shown by their statue to Eumachia, an important guild. Perhaps the water suited their business. All these trades show themselves in the construction of the house or court. But the vast number of these rooms, with their wide doors, are just one like another, and there is nothing to tell you, as you walk past, the trade followed. One of the

most interesting houses in Pompeii is the tanners'. It is not interesting for any relics there are of its works—for it is bare enough, and shows you little but that its premises were large—but interesting for the thoughtful mosaic found on its *triclinium* table. This mosaic represents at top a square and plumb-line; in the middle, a skull; below, a butterfly on a wheel; at the sides of this are a shepherd's crook and an upturned lance, both having cloths on them. Signor Pagano, in his little Pompeian guide, thus explains it: "The square and plumb-line point to the *equo pede* of death, and its inexorable justice; the butterfly symbolises the sensitive soul, which has left its earthly tenement; the wheel corresponds to fortune and to fate; lastly, in the cloths hung on the crook and lance, are indicated the earthly goods that death takes from us." This interpretation is quite in harmony with much of the philosophy of Horace. The certainty of death and the uncertainty of life are

a frequent thought with him. See the charming Ode (II. iii.) to "moriture"[1] Dellius, and that to Leuconoë (I. xi.), where he advises her not to consult the fortune-tellers:—

> "Ut melius, quidquid erit, pati!
> Seu plures hiemes, seu tribuit Jupiter ultimam,
> Quæ nunc oppositis debilitat pumicibus mare
> Tyrrhenum;"[2]

and then—

> "Sapias, vina liques, et spatio brevi
> Spem longam reseces. Dum loquimur, fugerit invida
> Ætas. Carpe diem, quam minimum credula postero."[3]

And in his exquisite letter to Tibullus, he advises in the same spirit:—

[1] "Doomed to die."

[2] "How much better to suffer the future, whatever it be,—whether it be more winters, or whether Jupiter has given this the last, which now weakens the Tuscan sea with the stones built up against it."

[3] "Be wise, clear the wine, and cut down a long hope to a short space. While we are speaking, envious time will have flown. *Carpe diem*, trusting as little as possible to the future."

"Omnem crede diem tibi diluxisse supremum;
Grata superveniet, quæ non sperabitur, hora." [1]

It is stated on the authority of Procopius, that the Romans placed a skull on their dining-tables as an incitement to gluttony. One such skull was found in Pompeii. This is a possible deduction from the motto, "Dum vivimus, vivamus." In more than one great plague dissolute men have become more dissolute. Horace in one passage (Odes, I. iv.) draws his moral more in this spirit. But in general he treats the thought, as in the places above quoted, with earnestness and elevation, as in the tanners' more elaborated mosaic:—

"Æqua tellus
Pauperi recluditur
Regumque pueris, nec satelles Orci
Callidum Promethea
Revexit auro captus." [2]—(II. xviii.)

He inculcates the use of the present in every

[1] "Believe that every day has risen to you the last; the hour not expected will add itself gratefully."

[2] "The earth is opened equally for the poor and the sons of

sense, in rational enjoyment and in strenuous labour; but he forbids exorbitant ambition and foolish greed. It may possibly have been with these thoughts of Horace, and no more, that the Pompeian tanner looked on his mosaic. Even so it is extremely interesting, and strikes a more philosophic, a higher note, than we usually meet with in the decorations of Pompeii. Still one would wish to see something more in it, and the emblems admit of more. The lance and the crook with their cloths seem to mean *all*, whether military or civil, with their worldly goods; the wheel, the skull, the square and plumb-line, might fitly symbolise life, death, and judgment. And the butterfly on the wheel may not only mean that the turns of fortune try the soul, but also be taken in connection with the skull above it, and signify that it survives the body's corruption. Thus taken, the thoughts are not above

kings; nor has the satellite of Orcus, taken by gold, brought back the crafty Prometheus."

heathenism, but are among the noblest it can rise to.

At Pompeii we see more than the houses and shops of the ancients, more than the paintings upon their walls, and the statuary that adorned their courts and fountains. In the articles dug up, and now in the Museum of Naples, we see their furniture, their household utensils, almost all the appliances of their life in every detail. There are the great atrium safes that contained the treasures of their owners. There are the braziers that warmed their rooms. One has round it a channel for water—a contrivance for moistening the heat I have not seen in modern use. There, in countless numbers and different materials, are the lamps that gave them light, and the various stands and supports for these,—trees and columns to hang them from, figures of Silenus and others, many well and naturally modelled, to carry them. Some of these lamp-bearers are made to take in pieces, and to be raised and

let down by a peg. There is even a night-lamp with perforated lid for subduing the light. There are many lanterns for out-of-door use. These ordinary lamps are not yet in Italy entirely superseded by petroleum. Among these remains, too, are their garden seats, their curule chairs, their *bisellia* (an honorary seat at the theatre granted to deserving citizens), their altars on their tripods, their tables and instruments for their aruspicia, their censers, and a sprinkler for throwing lustral water.

In the little museum at Pompeii we see the model and reconstruction of a house-door, with its latches, bolts, and locks. These have been taken in a very ingenious way. Materials that decay leave a vacuum in the lava in which they were buried. This vacuum has been used as a mould, filled with plaster, and a model taken of the article that has perished. Several models of human figures have been thus taken, and are extremely interesting as giving a measure of the

accuracy of the method followed. In the same way a door has been taken in plaster, and the old latches, bolts, &c., have afterwards been fitted to this. From this a reproduction has been made in modern wood and materials. Hinges and locks and the durable parts remain in numbers, from those of town gates to those of a lady's jewel-case. Their knockers may still be seen—rings round a Medusa's head or other ornament, sometimes inlaid with silver. You see their drinking-cups of all varieties, and in all materials—glass, earthenware, bronze, and silver,—their spoons and knives, their dinner services in brightly-glazed pottery; their urns for keeping hot wine, some quite like our modern tea-urns, some as ingeniously contrived as they are artistically executed; jugs for milk and all purposes; large vases for wine, their use being concluded from their ornaments; their ladles, their funnels, their colanders. Some of these last, of a bowl shape, are perforated small, and very neatly executed, evidently for table use.

It is supposed that they were filled with snow, the Italian substitute for ice, and dipped into wine to cool it. Certainly the contrivance is not needless, the snow being by no means free from impurities. All kitchen utensils are there—shapes, pastry cutters, cheese graters, frames for cooking eggs, gridirons, frying-pans, trivets, spits. There are many remains of their harness, bits, curb-chains, &c., and the bells for their cattle, exactly such as those with which cows and goats go through Naples and Torre del Greco now,—for the animals themselves carry the milk round, and serve you at your doors. Their caldrons and plugs are there, and equally their smallest things—their needles and their pins. All kinds of toilet requisites may be seen—combs, tooth-combs just like the modern, hairpins, mirrors, clasps, and innumerable other articles. A couple of tables contain surgical instruments; another musical, including a bagpipe; another dice (some were loaded), and knuckle-bones, and tickets for

theatres; another fish-hooks; another compasses and sculptor's instruments. There is quite a wonderful collection of steelyards and scales, with all kinds of weights and measures. Some steelyards had a ring round the cords of the scale, which, pressed down, held them closer to the contents. One has a hook instead of a scale. Some weights have writing on them which bids you "buy and have." Their trade implements are to be seen in great numbers. Ploughshares, spades, rakes, hammers, mallets, shears, trowels, pickaxes, wedges, planes, saws, anvils, and a key for raising blocks of stone (such as still used in Italy), and many more, show you the instruments with which they worked in their different occupations. In silver there are cups nicely worked, dishes, shapes, buckets, mirrors, &c. There is a beautiful vase, enamel, on blue glass, also a great number of common vessels in glass—tumblers, druggists' bottles, dishes, lacrymatories, &c.,—and a considerable collection of articles in

gold—very artistic necklaces and earrings, chains, clasps (*fibulæ*), bracelets, bottle-cases, some set with precious stones, and showing the highest taste and skill of the goldsmith. There is a hair-net of gold thread, and the *bulla* with its clasp, as worn by the children of patricians. Of course their curtains, their cushions, all things lighter and of more perishable material, are wanting, and prevent the process of mentally refurnishing the ancient walls from being complete and perfect.

Beyond doubt we have made great progress as tradesmen on these Pompeian articles and furniture. Our command of the resources of nature, and our facility in manufacture (using the words on the *lucus a non lucendo* principle to express things not made by hand but by machine), are much greater. We can furnish mirrors larger and more convenient than theirs; we can multiply pins and needles, and most other toilet requisites, in a way that would have astounded

them; we can supply bedsteads of one pattern, with which theirs could not have competed for cheapness in the market. But against all this gain there is great loss. The artisan is become much less of an artist. Our intelligence is shown in the machinery, in the mode of making. The article made by the ancient showed in itself much more the mind and feeling of the maker, and so charms more than ours. Our comforts are infinitely greater, and we have extended them lower in the scale of society. People of the most moderate means enjoy now conveniences which the rich had formerly to go without. But the difference between the houses, the comforts, the luxuries of the richest and the poorest, is greater now than ever.

Comparing them with our own, what is the judgment we must form of the art and architecture of Pompeii? What place does it take with its buildings, with its frescoes, and with its statuary? Pompeii is very interesting in its

architecture. In it we see in some degree what we see nowhere else, classic architecture applied on a small scale to a common house. I think the hasty visitor, not accustomed to see pillars and colonnades except in connection with grandeur, is apt to form too high an idea of the outward appearance of Pompeii. Some of the peristyles are spacious enough; but none of them, I think, could have been in themselves properly beautiful or attractive. All the beauty they had must have been due to their garden, their pretty mosaics and fountains, their statuary, and the possible brightness and elegance of their mural decoration. Such dignity as there was in Pompeii must have been found in the colonnade and frieze of the Forum, with the Temple of Jupiter at one end, with its arches and statues, surrounded by the Basilika, by other temples, and by public buildings. But these of Pompeii were not the highest specimens of temple architecture. They are by no means equal to the

Temple of Neptune at Pæstum. That is very beautiful in its way; but it is so different in its kind that it rather contrasts than compares with the grand Christian architecture of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Just as a Greek play in its unity of passion, in its chiselled completeness of form and beauty, stands before a modern tragedy, so a Greek temple in its simple dignity and proportions is of a beauty more connected, more comprehensible, more measured and completed, than that of a Gothic cathedral. But just as a play of Shakespeare reveals more of nature, and is a grander thing, of higher and nobler imagination, than a Greek tragedy, so is a middle-age cathedral, a doge's palace, or a Gothic town-hall more varied in its beauty, higher in its spirit, nobler in its imagination, a fuller embodiment of all the instincts and aspirations of man, than the more limited, but within its limits beautiful, Greek temple. And in its lesser churches and in its houses the contrast is,

I think, still more in favour of the middle ages. The houses of Pompeii have nothing of the external beauty of the old houses of Hildesheim.

The frescoes of Pompeii are the most extensive, the only at all complete remains, that we have of Greek art in their branch. But they are Greek art of the first century of our era, sometimes perhaps a little before, not of its best and simplest age. They are Greek art under Roman influence. We must not transfer our ideas of a small town altogether to Pompeii. Such, no doubt, it was, — witness its baths as compared with those of Rome. Still it was part of the ruling corporation of the world, a colony and miniature of Rome, situated on the bay which was the favourite resort of Roman luxury, between Baiæ-in-the-sea ("liquidæ Baiæ") and pleasant Sorrentum ("amœnum Surrentum": Hor.) Its frescoes are not superior to, but the best may compare not unfavourably with, those

revealed some years ago[1] in the house of Nero[2] on the Palatine, or in the villa of Livia near Rome. Its statues of Jupiter, the Doryphorus, the little Narcissus, together with the portraits, the Mercury, and the Sleeping Faun from Herculaneum, may stand without shame by the side of those found in Rome itself. The frescoes, no doubt, vary very much: some are quite rude, some are indifferent, but the best seem fairly to represent the better art of their day. It seems to me that this art rested on its proper basis,—nature and real life,—and that it was not merely academic. In its historic, mythologic, and literary subjects it followed a cycle (Epist. ad Pis.)—

"Rectius Iliacum carmen deducis in actus."

The same subjects are constantly repeated, and are treated in a similar though not identical way.

[1] These have now perished. I saw them the winter Pius IX. and Victor Emmanuel died, in excellent preservation.

[2] This Nero was the earlier husband of Livia.

The chief persons, men as well as gods, have their definite character, their type of feature, just as particular saints had among the early Christian painters. But it was from the actual observation of the human body, not from lessons in anatomy, that they learned to form so vividly and forcibly its image in their statues, and to paint its figures, exuberant with the bloom and activity of health, on their walls. Their toilet scenes are sketches; but, so far as they go, they seem taken accurately from real life. Their portraits are eminently truthful; and their scenes from the market and the tavern, though roughly done, still witness to an art based on life and nature. They had, I suppose, mechanical appliances to aid them in painting their divisions and the lines of their patterns; but every pattern seems arranged to its place, and they are infinitely varied as well as gracious. And the birds, the fish, the fruit, the things of daily life that adorn them, witness to an exact, accurate, and constant observation of nature.

The great point in which this art seems inferior to that of an earlier time is, that it is less noble in spirit.[1] It can portray a flower-girl, a dancing figure, an athlete, or a Cupid with exquisite grace, but it fails to give a noble character either to its gods or heroes. With the exception of the statue of Jupiter, I noticed no high realisation of the character portrayed. The Venus Kallipyge, not the Venus of Capua, is the representative of this art. The motive of that statue, with its abuse of drapery (to frame, not to cover, the form to which attention is invited), is frequently repeated in Pompeii. It degrades, for instance, the mosaic of Ulysses discovering Achilles in the house of Apollo, and the Cupid and Psyche that was placed below Proculeius and his wife. There is much in the art of Pompeii that is covered up, and is rightly withdrawn from the general gaze.

[1] The best Greek ages are distinguished, too, by the greater simplicity and ease with which they attain their wonderful result.

But it is not its scenes of downright, unproducable indecency (after all, few in number compared with the whole) that make it inapplicable and impossible to modern life, but because in its essence it rests on what the Germans call the *Verehrlichung* of the bodily form. That is the chief, the most attractive, the acme of those graceful ornaments which adorn its squares. Take away the representations of the human form, and the decorations of Pompeii become the play of 'Hamlet' with the part of Hamlet omitted. There are other centres to their decorations,—*e.g.*, historical subjects and the contrast of two portraits. But were these not combined with the graceful dancing figures, and paintings in the nude, the whole decoration would become much more respectable and decent, but would have been to the eye of the Roman lifeless and dull. They were accustomed to the sight of the almost or quite undressed figure in the baths and in the palæstra; and though their writings show

the consequences, they were unconscious of the wrong, and being so, were less degraded by it. We could not accept frankly the Pompeian decoration and repeat it, without its being to us a conscious stain and a deeper degradation. Moreover, the separation of art from trade, the costliness and greater perishableness of mural decoration in our climate, the change of fashion, which has caused an Englishman to decorate his house differently, and adorn his walls with art treasures movable and more lasting—all these make any imitation of the Pompeian models difficult with us.

It is not uninteresting to compare ancient statuary and frescoes with those of modern Italy before Italian art under Michael Angelo and Raphael adopted, or attempted to adopt,[1] the

[1] "Die Unterordnung alles zufälligen unter die lebendige Geistlichkeit der reinen Körperform." "The subordination of all that is accidental to the living supremacy of the pure bodily form."—Kugler, p. 421, in criticising the frescoes of Signorelli (the precursor of Michael Angelo) at Orvieto.

principle of the ancient, and became directly imitative of it. The later art appears to me to have far higher merits, but not to be so adapted to light and graceful mural decoration. The early Italians were strictly imitative of nature; and though their art was still rising, and had not reached its culminating point, their best works—Verrochio's Colleoni at Venice, the St George of Donatello, and much else at Florence—seem not unworthy[1] to put beside the *chef-d'œuvres* of antiquity. You must remember that they are not founded on the principle of the *Verehrlichung* of the human body, but aim at giving a representation of a contemporary general or a Christian saint as seen in life. They give the outward man in its truth, nature, and vigour; but they seek moreover to let the character speak through the lineaments and features of the face, through the gestures and manner. This is that which we

[1] Far more so than the unfortunate statues of Canova, which are put for comparison in the Vatican.

most care and think about, and which necessarily, really to please and interest us, the sculptor or painter must set himself to represent. We cannot go back to the ancient heathen ideas; and art, in seeking to do so, necessarily becomes unreal, alien to our real life and interests. The *loggie* of Raphael come nearest in spirit, in lightness, and in grace to the ancient frescoes. But even there the subjects relatively occupy much more of the space, and the wall seems rather to exist for them than they for the wall. In the *sale* this is still more the case. And though they have much higher merits (nothing, for instance, at Pompeii at all compares as a picture of life with the Popes and their attendants in the frescoes of the *sale*), yet they do not form so truly a pretty and ornamented wall. They are more than that, and the *sale* have not unnaturally become a museum of art rather than rooms to live in. The school of Perugia divides its subjects with very neat borders. Pinturicchio's ceiling in the choir

of St Maria del Popolo at Rome, and Perugino's Hall di Cambio at Perugia, are instances. These last are noble and instructive paintings, but they take up all the wall. The borders are only narrow frames, and the subjects claim all your attention, on their own grounds and not as mural decoration. They will well repay your study. Several of them represent men of antiquity, but they represent them as patterns of the four cardinal virtues — Justice, Fortitude, Temperance, and Prudence. They show you how these virtues impress themselves on the outward appearance, and from looking at them you may learn to admire and insensibly imitate the virtues. You will learn little of this kind from Pompeii.

Eighteen eventful centuries have passed since Pompeii was overwhelmed. The invention of transparent glass has revolutionised the building of houses; the compass has developed navigation; the printing-press has dispersed literature; gunpowder, breechloaders, and rifled cannon have

increased man's strength in war; mechanical inventions innumerable have added to and multiplied his comforts. The movement of the planets, the cause of eclipses, the attraction of matter, and other laws of the universe, are known to us. And every science has revealed to us its secrets, that were hidden to the Pompeian. But all this science, all this knowledge, mechanical invention, and material progress, have not been an unmixed advantage; and they have left the world essentially what it was before. The habits of men now are pretty much the same as the habits of the Pompeians were. It may be questioned whether the life of the Pompeian tanner would not condemn the majority of ours. Our knowledge and our enlightenment have effected no change in the spirit of man. Our inventions and our comforts have not made us less ambitious, less greedy of gain, less fond of pleasure. There are three blots on ancient civilisation that have disappeared from European society: slavery,

the gladiatorial games, and that form of sensual indulgence that Horace could allude to boldly (Odes, I. iv.) in connection with the sentiment—

> "Pallida Mors æquo pulsat pede pauperum tabernas
> Regumque turres."

These are the triumphs of the purer, milder, and more spiritual religion of Christ. Whatever lesser degree of improvement there is in other respects, comes from the same holy source, exists amongst those imbued with its teaching or who have learnt from them. The point of wonder is, that our better religion should be so badly followed and should not have improved us more. Christianity, it is true, did not interfere directly with social institutions. But it abolished gladiatorial games and slavery by the humaner spirit it infused into the world; and as a corollary of its principles, that we are all "slaves of Christ," and all alike equal before God. The third blot it had already extin-

guished within the circle of its disciples, when St Paul, towards the last days of Pompeii, touched and found brethren at the neighbouring port of Puteoli.

THE END.

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